

9 June 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
FROM: Dave Grie
SUBJECT: Breakfast with Representative McHugh

25X1

You are scheduled to host breakfast for Representative Matthew McHugh on Tuesday, 10 June at 8:00 a.m. in the DCI Dining Room. As you know, Rep. McHugh is a current member of HPSCI. He is also a member of the House Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations.

Also attending the breakfast are Clair George and myself. Talking points and a biographic highlight sheet are attached for your information.

Attachments

~~SECRET~~

Talking Points

Representative Matthew (Matt) McHugh (D., NY) joined HPSCI in 1985 and must leave by 1991. He is on the Subcommittee on Oversight and Evaluation. He is also a key Member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee that handles foreign aid, and is said to be a consultant for Secretary Schultz on such matters. McHugh has a reputation as a thinking man, one much interested in the philosophical issues that surround intelligence.

Items likely to be on his mind include:

- Covert action. He has expressed interest in how new findings are developed. This might provide you an excellent opportunity to do some basic educating as well as take advantage of his theoretical bent. He is one of the many Members struggling with the overt/covert issue.

25X1

- Rights of Americans. He recently sought your written assurance that the Agency does not provide false or misleading information to the press or Congress as alleged in a March Aviation Week article.

McHugh is said to read a fair amount of condensed intelligence material and is interested in the quality of our information. He may also want to ask you about your priorities and where you think improvement is most needed.

~~SECRET~~

25X1

New York - 28th District

28 Matthew F. McHugh (D)

Of Ithaca — Elected 1974

Born: Dec. 6, 1938, Philadelphia, Pa.
Education: Mount St. Mary's College, B.S. 1960;
Villanova U., J.D. 1963.
Occupation: Lawyer.
Family: Wife, Eileen Alanna Higgins; three children.
Religion: Roman Catholic.
Political Career: Tompkins County District Attorney,
1969-72.
Capitol Office: 2335 Rayburn Bldg. 20515; 225-6335.



In Washington: It may not be strictly true, as some members like to say, that McHugh does not have an enemy in the House after 10 years in office. He may have one somewhere. But his quiet, courteous, pragmatic style has made him a major player in nearly all the issues he has chosen to work on. Unflappable even in the most trying negotiations, he has the trust of those who deal with him on both sides of the aisle.

Over nearly a decade on the Appropriations subcommittee that handles foreign aid, McHugh has supplied balance and direction to its work and sometimes eclipsed Clarence D. Long of Maryland, the subcommittee's eccentric and unpredictable chairman for most of those years. During the 98th Congress, Republican Secretary of State George P. Shultz often consulted with McHugh over breakfast to find out the political situation on the crucial subcommittee.

In the 99th Congress, the climate has changed dramatically. Long was defeated for re-election in 1984, and succeeded as Foreign Operations chairman by David R. Obey of Wisconsin, a longtime McHugh ally.

It remains to be seen whether the change will make it easier to enact a regular foreign aid appropriation into law. That has not been done since 1981; foreign aid programs have been enacted by annual stopgap spending bills. The Appropriations Committee and the full House passed a bill in 1984, but the Senate never took it up.

On the subcommittee, McHugh has worked consistently to cut foreign military aid in favor of increased economic and humanitarian assistance. The one exception to his skepticism about foreign military aid has been his approach to Israel. McHugh has been a strong

supporter of assistance to that country, though he has sometimes been in the position of having to negotiate between Israel's even more militant backers and the growing anti-foreign aid movement in the House.

In the 98th Congress, McHugh used his position on the Appropriations Committee to challenge Reagan's foreign policy in Central America. He sought to cut \$34 million in military aid to El Salvador in 1984, and backed the cutoff of U.S. funding for the anti-Sandinista guerrillas fighting the Nicaraguan government. After the cutoff passed, he noted that "there is a growing assertion by Congress of its legitimate right to participate in foreign policy." McHugh was among those seeking to tie production money for the president's "star wars" anti-missile defense system to progress in arms control talks with the Soviet Union.

McHugh has been a strong supporter of international lending agencies, including the International Development Association, the arm of the World Bank that lends to the poorest nations. Conservatives have long opposed IDA, because it lends to communist regimes. President Reagan came to office vowing to fulfill the U.S. obligation to pay \$3.24 billion to IDA, but the administration later cut U.S. contributions by 25 percent. McHugh said the cutback would "cost in economic and political terms much more than we'll save."

The intensity of McHugh's commitment was shown in 1984 during debate on an administration proposal to spend \$10 million on a new Inter-American Investment Corporation to make loans to businesses in the Western Hemisphere. Jack F. Kemp of New York, the senior Republican on the foreign aid subcommittee, tried to remove the \$10 million. McHugh spoke up sharply against him for the first time in

Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y.

New York 28

The elongated 28th reaches from high above Cayuga's waters to high above those of the Hudson.

The Triple Cities of Binghamton, Johnson City and Endicott are industrial but politically marginal. This is the area in which Thomas J. Watson located his first IBM plant, and it still reflects some of the corporate paternalism the Watson family practiced for generations. In all three cities, conservative working-class voters, many of them Italian, join with white-collar technicians and professionals to form a potent bloc for the GOP. Binghamton often elects Democrats to the New York Assembly but its state senator is the Senate's Republican leader. The small towns and farms of rural Delaware and Tioga counties add to the Republican totals.

McHugh's political base is Tompkins County, site of Cornell University in Ithaca. Cornell dominates Ithaca economically and politically. The picturesque Ivy League school, sitting on a hill overlooking Lake Cayuga, keeps the city Democratic and relatively liberal. The rural parts of the county have a Republican tilt.

Southern Tier — Binghamton; Ithaca

Sullivan County, the northern portion of which is in the 28th, is the only section of the district where Democrats enjoy a party registration majority, although the county frequently votes for statewide and national Republican candidates.

Heavily Jewish, it contains many resort hotels, including Grossinger's, the famous launching pad for comedians. The presence of Sullivan County in the district makes McHugh's support for Israel politically helpful.

Ulster County lies at the district's eastern end. Its seat is Democratic-leaning Kingston, a textile town of 24,481 people. The county's other Democratic pocket — a small one — lies in Woodstock, the artists' colony that gave its name to the celebrated 1969 rock festival that actually was held in Bethel.

Population: 516,402. White 492,630 (95%), Black 14,330 (3%), Asian and Pacific Islander 4,309 (1%). Spanish origin 9,240 (2%). 18 and over 382,338 (74%), 65 and over 63,575 (12%). Median age: 30.

memory; Kemp's proposal lost.

Later in the year, Congress cleared McHugh's proposal to add \$150 million in emergency food aid for drought-stricken areas of Africa. The proposal survived months of bickering and rewriting in the Senate.

McHugh first became a major player on foreign aid in 1978, when he and Obey led the successful fight for the Carter administration's \$7.4 billion aid request, over the objections of Long, who wanted to slash the amount.

When that bill went to conference, Long and other House negotiators were adamant against Senate language providing for aid to Syria. It finally became law after McHugh added a provision authorizing the president to approve aid to Syria only if he thought it would "serve the process of peace in the Middle East."

In 1981, the next time a foreign aid bill passed the House, McHugh spent much of his time trying to preserve multilateral assistance programs over conservative opposition. On the House floor, he and other Democrats joined

forces with the Reagan administration to block moves by Republicans to reduce funding for the World Bank.

The next year, the coalition splintered. McHugh and other influential Democrats were dismayed over the administration's request for increased military aid. McHugh said the administration "should have known that people on this side would be deeply offended." Democrats on the panel succeeded in blocking the aid request.

Later that year, though, McHugh helped form a coalition to approve \$350 million for President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative. The aid was approved as part of a measure Reagan vetoed; Congress overrode the veto.

Beyond McHugh's personal reserve lies a reservoir of ambition. To make it to the Appropriations Committee in 1978, he had to win the support of the New York state Democratic delegation. That was a difficult task because the delegation is New York City-dominated, and the seat's previous occupant was from

Matthew F. McHugh, D-N.Y.

Manhattan. There was already an active candidate from the city, James H. Scheuer. But McHugh campaigned assiduously and defeated Scheuer, 14-11, drawing several city votes.

He was less successful in 1980, when he tried to become chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. The other candidates, Gillis W. Long and Charlie Rose, were both Southerners, and he saw an opening for a moderate liberal from the Northeast. But he started late, and in challenging Long, he was up against one of the most popular members. McHugh finished a distant third, with 41 votes, to 146 for Long and 53 for Rose.

In the 98th Congress, though, he had his first important leadership position — as chairman of the Democratic Study Group (DSG), the organization of liberal and moderate Democrats in the House. McHugh won it without opposition.

The DSG, long an influential force in House Democrats' internal affairs, had been less conspicuous in the early 1980s; McHugh set out to reverse this trend.

Under his leadership in 1984 DSG drafted an alternative budget, one of more than half a dozen alternatives to the official product of the House Budget Committee. This proposal, offered by McHugh on the House floor, would have reduced the federal deficit by about \$260 billion in three years, chiefly by freezing defense spending at the inflation rate and increasing taxes substantially. Although its appeal beyond the ranks of liberal Democrats was limited, it still drew 132 votes, more than any of the other alternatives to the Budget Committee's resolution.

At Home: McHugh's victory in the 1974 Democratic sweep made him the first Democrat to represent the Binghamton area in this century. He succeeded a popular Republican, Howard W. Robison, promising to carry on in the retiring Robison's moderate tradition. He was helped in that stance by the hard-line conservative campaign of his Republican opponent, Binghamton Mayor Alfred Libous.

Since then, Republicans have had a habit of putting up flawed challengers against McHugh. In 1978 and 1980, businessman Neil

Tyler Wallace demonstrated an abrasive personality that cost him votes. In 1982 lawyer David F. Crowley seemed a bright and formidable challenger until he committed a series of gaffes that doomed his candidacy.

In an attempt to show how military spending could be cut, for instance, Crowley suggested that the military's LAMPS III helicopter be scrapped. It turned out that a plant in the 28th District made parts for the aircraft. McHugh won comfortably.

That track record did not dim Republicans' optimism about their chances against McHugh in 1984. Their candidate, former Cornell University administrator Constance E. Cook, had built up a reservoir of name recognition as a member of the New York Assembly for a decade until her retirement in 1976. Cook also benefited from the special interest the national GOP took in female congressional candidates that year.

Unlike Crowley, Cook avoided making any glaring errors. But the 65-year-old Republican still had formidable problems in trying to blaze a comeback trail. She expressed reservations about the Reagan administration's cuts in social welfare programs, and scored McHugh for opposing federal funding for abortion — stand which did not sit well with many of the district's conservatives. Further, Cook negotiated a campaign spending limit with McHugh that wound up impairing her ability to spread her name outside of her Ithaca base.

Cook got a much-needed boost in mid-September, when President Reagan spoke in the district on her behalf. But even that did not help her generate sufficient momentum. McHugh, who openly attacked Reaganomics and embraced Walter F. Mondale's call for a tax increase, took 57 percent of the vote district-wide.

Before running for Congress, McHugh served as district attorney of Tompkins County, at the far western edge of the sprawling district. As district attorney, he was popular with the Cornell University community in Ithaca. He organized a local drug treatment facility and demanded peaceful handling of student protests.

New York - 28th District

Committees

Appropriations (19th of 35 Democrats)
Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies; Foreign Operations.

Select Children, Youth and Families (5th of 15 Democrats)
Task Forces: Economic Security; Prevention Strategies.

Select Intelligence (9th of 10 Democrats)
Oversight and Evaluation.

Elections

1984 General

Matthew F. McHugh (D) 123,334 (57%)
Constance E. Cook (R) 90,324 (41%)

1982 General

Matthew F. McHugh (D) 100,665 (56%)
David Crowley (R) 75,991 (43%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1980 (55%) 1978 (56%)
1976 (67%) 1974 (53%)

District Vote For President

1984		1980		1976	
D	94,304 (39%)	D	83,039 (38%)	D	110,702 (48%)
R	147,818 (61%)	R	108,287 (49%)	R	121,263 (52%)
		I	24,117 (11%)		

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1984				
McHugh (D)	\$390,103	\$134,111 (34%)		\$381,056
Cook (R)	\$138,619	\$20,400 (15%)		\$136,255
1982				
McHugh (D)	\$447,496	\$139,648 (31%)		\$454,513
Crowley (R)	\$278,405	\$115,781 (42%)		\$277,732

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	35	62	89	9	24	75
1983	24	76	92	5	12	87
1982	39	53	89	8	19	81
1981	32	68	89	11	19	80
1980	76	20	88	8	11	84
1979	82	16	86	12	16	83
1978	84	15	84	13	12	87
1977	72	20	74	16	21	67
1976	24	75	87	11	18	77
1975	35	63	88	7	11	86

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)	N
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)	Y
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)	N
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)	Y
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)	N
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)	Y
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)	Y
Cut education spending (1984)	N
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	N

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1984	75	5	38	19
1983	90	11	88	30
1982	100	17	95	23
1981	95	8	73	11
1980	83	21	72	64
1979	89	4	90	13
1978	75	15	80	28
1977	70	10	80	33
1976	80	4	77	32
1975	95	7	95	6

CONFIDENTIAL

*Deletion-9 June 86
**Addition-9 June 86

DINING ROOM EVENTS

TIME/DAY/DATE: 0800-Tuesday, 10 June 1986

BREAKFAST XX LUNCHEON _____ DINNER _____

HOST: DCI _____ DDCI XX EXDIR _____ OTHER _____

PLACE: DCI D. R. XX EDR _____ OTHER _____

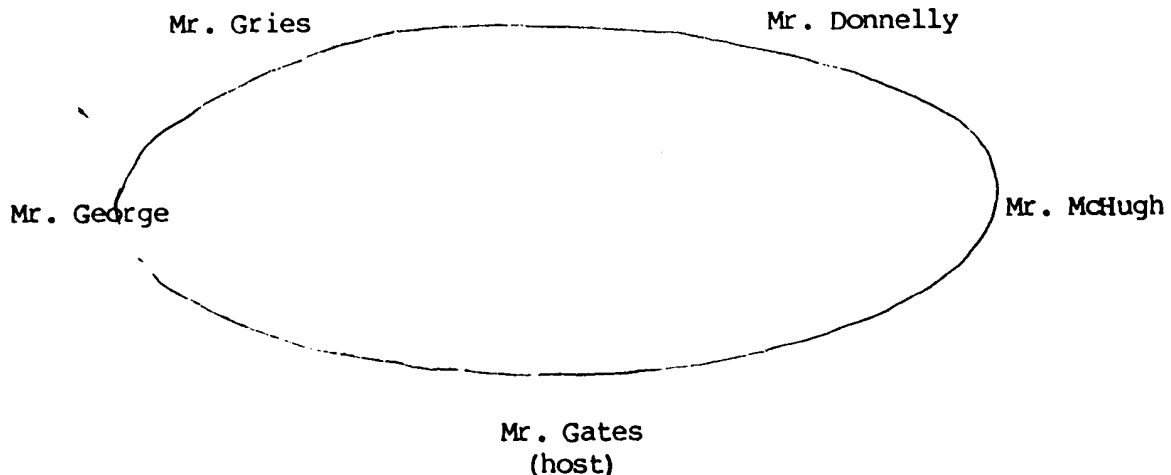
GUEST LIST: Mr. Robert Gates, host
Representative Matthew McHugh, guest of honor
Mr. Clair George, DDO
~~*Mr. Richard Kerr, DBI~~
**Mr. William Donnelly, DDA
Mr. David Gries, OCA/DCI

TOTAL: 6 *4 **5

MENU:

WILL ORDER FROM MENU

SEATING ARRANGEMENT: (WINDOWS)



CONFIDENTIAL